1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

547 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a kona*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, everyone brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. 422

It is evident that the parts of such canoes would be distributed in the houses of the various owners.

Housing

At Pua Ma'u I was told that war canoes were always taken to pieces when they were not in use. Here and at Atu Ona canoes were kept in special houses on the shore. At Atu Ona, the natives relate that a certain traditional canoe used to repose on two stone supports (*ano*) on the main dance place of the valley. One of these supports, a large block of basalt with a somewhat crescent-shaped concave top, is still on this dance area. 504

While on Ua Pou I learned that on that island the chief's war canoe was sometimes, if not always, carried on to the feast place before his house. It seems probable that it was the fishing canoes which were housed by the sea, and that the war canoes, which were more occasionally used, were those that were taken apart or that were kept in houses on the chief's dance area. Porter describes (24, p. 108) a place, which he calls the "public square," which he invaded far up Tai-pi Valley, and says:

Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, [and] several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them.

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Tapa-Making

The finest bark cloth (*tapa*), called also *ute*, pure white in color, was made from the bark of the *ute*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). *Ute* furnished all the white cloth used ceremonially. The planting and cultivation of this tree is described in connection with Planting. A rougher, white cloth (*kahu mei*)—the most commonly used—was made of the bark of young breadfruit trees (*mei, Artocarpus incisa*). The sacred cloth called *hiapo*, reddish brown in color—a natural color, not dyed—was made from the bark of the branches or roots of the *hiapo*, the name given the young banyan (*aoa*). Dordillon (8) gives *akatea* and *atea* as names of trees or bushes whose bark was used for *tapa*, while Jardin (15, p. 42) 287 824

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

says that *katea* (Alyxia) was used. According to this writer (15, p. 34), the bark of *mi'o* was also *some*times used. The implements employed in making *tapa* consisted of a stone (*ke'a, kiva*), a wooden anvil (*tutua*) and

FIGURE 17.—Tapa beaters (*ike*).

the wooden beater (*ike*) (fig. 17). Cloth-making was a woman's industry.

The following simple and concise descriptions of making *tapa* in ancient times are translated and briefed from a manuscript written in the native dialect by Dordillon (9)—evidently copied from descriptions by a native:

> The breadfruit tree was climbed and a branch cut off with a sharp stone. The bark was pulled from the branch with the teeth and beaten for a long time on a stone with the wooden beater. The fiber was then worked in fresh water with the hands, after which it was bundled up and carried into the house where it was left four days. Being then brought out, it was beaten again on a smooth beach boulder, then on a wooden anvil, after which it was put in the sun to dry. If the cloth were dyed (yellow *ena* furnished the only dye), it was soaked in the dye before drying. In the making of the ute cloth the stem of the paper mulberry plant is dscribed as being cut down, peeled, and the bark put first in water and then beaten to remove the inside bark. The fiber was then left in the house for some time, after which it was beaten and felted together, rinsed, and the cloth dried by being stretched out in the sun with stones laid on the border to hold it.

Melville (23, pp. 172-173) describes cloth-making in Nuku Hiva as he witnessed it:

> In the manufacture of the beautiful tapa generally worn on the Marquesan Islands, the preliminary operation consists in gathering a certain quantity of the young branches of the cloth-tree. The exterior green bark being pulled off as worthless, there remains a slender fibrous substance, which is carefully stripped from the stick, to which it closely adheres. When a sufficient quantity of it has been collected, the various strips are enveloped in a covering of large leaves, which the natives use precisely as we do wrapping-paper, and which are secured by a few turns of a

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

line passed around them. The package is then laid in the bed of some running stream, with a heavy stone placed over it, to prevent its being swept away. After it has remained for two or three days in this state, it is drawn out, and exposed, for a short time, to the action of the air, every distinct piece being attentively inspected, with a view of ascertaining whether it has yet been sufficiently affected by the operation. This is repeated again and again, until the desired result is obtained.

When the substance is in a proper state for the next process, it betrays evidences of incipient decomposition; the fibres are relaxed and softened, and rendered perfectly malleable. The different strips are now extended, one by one, in successive layers, upon some smooth surface—generally the prostrate trunk of a cocoanut tree—and the heap thus formed is subjected, at every new increase, to a moderate beating, with a sort of wooden mallet, leisurely applied. The mallet is made of a hard heavy wood resembling ebony, is about twelve inches in length, and perhaps two in breadth, with a rounded handle at one end, and in shape is the exact counterpart of one of our four-sided razor-strops. The flat surfaces of the implement are marked with shallow parallel indentations, varying in depth on the different sides, so as to be adapted to the several stages of the operation. These marks produce the corduroy sort of stripes discernible in the tappa in its finished state. After being beaten in the manner I have described, the material soon becomes blended in one mass, which moistened occasionally with water, is at intervals hammered out, by a kind of gold-beating process, to any degree of thinness required. In this way the cloth is easily made to vary in strength and thickness, so as to suit the numerous purposes to which it is applied.

When the operation last described has been concluded, the new-made tappa is spread out on the grass to bleach and dry, and soon comes of a dazzling whiteness. Sometimes, in the first stages of the manufacture, the substance is impregnated with a vegetable juice, which gives it a permanent color. A rich brown and a bright yellow are occasionally seen, but the simple taste of the Typee people inclines them to prefer the natural tint.

The types of dress for which bark cloth was used are described in the section on Dress and Personal Adornment.

Mat-Making

Mat making (*u'u moena*) was also an industry to which women devoted themselves. The pandanus mats for the bed-space, and the coconut mat used for thatching and for padding the bed-space were made by individuals or by groups of women, usually relatives, or in the family of chiefs by women who were known to be skilled in the art, who were summoned for the purpose. Thus, if a chiefess desired to have mats made she would summon a group of women whom, during the time of their labor, she would feed and house in a special shelter (*oho au*) built for the work. For fine mats the pandanus leaves were split into small strips (*henu*) with a small stick like a needle (*ake*). (See The Family.)

Other Home Industries

Basket-making was also a function of women, but it was an industry that was little developed and was practiced merely as an incidental house-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind. 304

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces. 287 296

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais. 764

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or 293

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 CX6 Marquesas CX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by suc- 565
cession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and re- 565
semble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 342
the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior [354]
of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264]
the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565
or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351
the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are [389]
merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

is the poorest, about the middle of June; and the third, about September. From the bark, a sort of thick brown cloth is made, which is sometimes dyed yellow. 1804. May.

Toomooehee, or Cocoa-nut-tree: too well known in Europe, to require a description.

Maeeea, or Plantains. There are many sorts of this tree here; the fruit of some of which is nine inches long, and seven and a half round.

Toomooishee. A kind of Chestnut-tree, that bears fruit in the months of May and November.

Timanoo. A firm strong tree, growing sometimes to nine feet in circumference. It is only used for building war-canoes, and is forbidden to be cut for any other purpose.

Toomoomyee. Of this tree the common canoes are made.

Kenai. A soft tree, used for small canoes, and other unimportant works: it takes root as easily as our willow.

Pooadea. This is the largest tree on the island. Its trunk, I was told, measures in some instances thirty feet in circumference: the branches, which are only allowed to be cut for religious ceremonies, spread wide, and are well adapted to give shade to burying-grounds.

Cogoo. This tree is used for fire-wood. It bears a black

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

139 1804. [326] May. [313] Cogoo. This tree is used for firewood. It bears a black berry, which is mixed with a certain odoriferous root, and used for painting the skin yellow.

Toar. A tree of which all the implements of war are made, on account of its hardness.

[283] *Fow.* A tree of a middling size, from the bark of the branches of which threads for fishing-lines and nets are made.

[287] *Eooty.* From the bark of this tree, the best cloth is made. The manner of manufacturing it is similar to that which has been described by several navigators, as practised in the Sandwich Islands.

[373] *Eama.* The fruit of this tree answers the purpose of candles. It resembles small chestnuts, which, when peeled, stuck one upon another on a stick, and set on fire, burn in succession, and give an excellent light.

[289] *Hiaba.* A large tree, the bark of which is used for making short pieces of cloth, such as the islanders sometimes tie round the waist.

[301] *Foa.* This tree produces a very handsome fruit, pieces of which being strung together, are used, on festivals, as wreaths for the head, and ornaments for the neck.

ROOTS.

Taoo. A sort of yam. Its leaves may answer the purpose of brocoli, which it resembles in taste.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says,

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege.

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent.

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils.

Scrapers

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 413 ous, for fragments of scrapers may be found in the earth of any village site. A few stone scrapers designed for other purposes may also have been used in tapa making.

BEATERS

The tapa beaters in common use were of two distinct types, the round and the square. There was a third rare type which was intermediate between the two main forms.

The round beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 3) are simple billets of fau wood, 18 to 20 inches long, cut from saplings 1½ to 2¼ inches in diameter. These billets were stripped of bark, and while still green and soft, were incised from end to end with a number of closely spaced grooves made, it is said, with the corner of a stone adz. They were then allowed to dry, and were ready for use. Beaters of this type have no distinct handles and both ends and all sides may be used. The round beaters were commonly used only for the initial beating of the bark, but could be employed for the entire process of manufacture. A very fine piece of *ute* tapa was seen that had been beaten throughout with an implement of this sort.

The square tapa beaters (Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 1) were made of toa wood (Casuirina) and their manufacture must have required considerable skill and patience. Their handles are said to have been shaped with shells and the grooves cut with sharpened pearl shells or rats' teeth. Beaters of this type were common to the whole of Polynesia, but those from the Marquesas are easily distinguishable by their shorter and heavier grips. The body of the beater is rectangular; the grip is round and nearly as thick as the body. There is a slight flare at the butt of some beaters. Each of the faces is incised with a number of closely spaced longitudinal grooves. The number of grooves on the different faces of a beater varies slightly, but there seems to be no distinction of coarse and fine faces such as is found in the Tahitian and some other beaters. The ornamental designs on beaters which gave the tapa a sort of "water mark," common in Hawaii, seem to have been entirely absent in the Marquesas. A beater with a long slender grip, reminiscent of the Hawaiian and Tahitian forms, was seen in Hiva Oa, and another obtained from an old *me'ae* on the same island, has the grip set at a slight but distinct angle to the body of the beater, a very unusual feature.

Beaters of the third type constitute an ancient form. (See Pl. LXXIV, *A*, 2.) Only two were seen, both of them crudely made. They are made of *toa* wood, are rectangular in cross section, but somewhat more slender than the ordinary square beaters and have no distinct handles. All four faces are grooved for their entire length, but the grooves appear to have been drawn alternately from

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

opposite ends, as some of them overlap slightly in the center of the implement. It seems probable that this form is a hybrid, combining the continuous grooves of the round beaters with the flat surfaces of the square type.

Tapa Anvils

The Marquesans employed anvils of both stone and wood. Stone anvils are now little used, but in former times they appear to have been part of the equipment of every household. In early times they were used for only the preliminary beating, but later were occasionally employed for the entire manufacture.

In its simplest form the stone anvil is nothing more than a large flat water-worn bowlder, but most anvils seen have been carefully worked from large blocks of stone. They are rectangular, with a length of from 18 inches to 2 feet, 6 inches; a width of from 8 inches to one foot, and a thickness from 4 to 7 inches. The tops have been carefully flattened and smoothed, the sides made vertical or nearly so. The bottom is usually left rough. Some anvils are widest in the middle, tapering evenly toward either end. An especially fine specimen from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa (Pl. LXXIV, *B*) has a longitudinal groove along either side for a short distance below the top and is remarkable in having the bottom more or less hollowed—a feature which may have resulted from its use as a whetstone for stone adzes. These carefully made stone anvils are of considerable interest, as they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania.

Wooden anvils are still used in the manufacture of tapa. The only one seen was made of breadfruit wood, rectangular in cross section, and was approximately two feet long, ten inches wide, and six inches thick. This anvil differs in form from those described by aged informants, and possibly is of a modern and degenerate type. In former times two types of wooden anvils appear to have been employed. The simpler of these was a long straight log, preferably of breadfruit wood, smoothed but not otherwise prepared. The more elaborate type was made from a light colored wood, possibly a species of sandal wood, obtained on the plateau. It was U-shaped in cross section, with straight ends. Its hollowed interior made it more easily portable and increased its resonance so that the sound of cloth beating could be heard for a long distance.

Tapa Making

The paper mulberry, from whose bark the best grade of tapa was made, was raised in regular plantations. Handy was informed that dead trees 18 to 20 feet high were cut down and stripped of their bark, that the bark was then soaked, and finally beaten to remove the inner skin. A local informant said that live shoots 10 to 12 feet high were cut and barked while still green, and described the process of tapa making as follows:

The fresh bark was taken to a stream, where the coarse outer bark was removed with a shell scraper. The bark was not soaked before the initial beating, a point which was stressed by the informant who was familiar with both the Hawaiian and Marquesan processes of tapa making. The bark was beaten on a stone anvil with a round beater until it was similar to

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287 paper pulp and in this condition it was very easily injured. This pulp was then wrapped in very large leaves (apparently from a species of Caladium) and taken into the house, where it was kept for two or three days. There was no fixed period for this storage, the time depending upon the condition of the pulp. After this "ripening" the pulp was beaten again with a square beater on a wooden anvil, rinsed in fresh water, and spread out to dry, the edges weighted with stones. The finished tapa was made up in large bundles which were hung from the ridge pole of the house until needed. (See Pl. LXXIV, *C*.)

A slightly different method of making tapa from breadfruit bark is described in a manuscript translated by Handy,

> This account states that the bark was cut with a stone knife, peeled from the branches of a living tree with the teeth, beaten on a stone anvil for a long time, crushed and worked in fresh water, and done up in bundles to ripen. After ripening for four days, the pulp was beaten again on a stone anvil and finally on a wooden anvil.

An informant of Nuka Hiva said that in the final stages of manufacture layers of mulberry and breadfruit bark were frequently laid upon one another and beaten into a single piece, the upper side of which would be of one material, the other side of another. Used tapa was sometimes rebeaten.

287 386 Some of the tapa collected has evidently been oiled, although it is not certain that this was done with the intention of making it waterproof. The Bishop Museum possesses a tapa, ascribed to the Marquesas, one side of which is covered with a dark red glaze, but as there is no other evidence that this process was used in the Marquesas the specimen probably is improperly ascribed. Much white tapa was dyed yellow with a solution of saffron. Jardin (33) says he was told that the natives extracted a blue dye from the leaves of a species of Cordia, and adds: "I have never seen this practice and I have never seen their cloth dyed that color."

287 531 An interesting feature of Marquesan tapa is the use of the watermark of the ordinary grooved beater to produce ornamental effects. One specimen has been beaten with such skill that at first glance it appears to be cloth woven with heavy weft and light warp threads. The ridges and grooves made by the beater extend across it in continuous lines except for a narrow strip along either edge, which is beaten at right angles to the body of the piece, giving the appearance of a border. Another specimen seems to have been beaten with alternate strokes from right and left so that the watermarks cross each other and produce a series of small diamonds. Designs were never painted on Marquesan tapa.

287 The importance of tapa making in the life of the Marquesans is indicated by the many terms in use. The following have been taken from Dordillon's Dictionary:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287
192

Akatea. Kind of bush for tapa.
Akatotoo. Kind of mulberry tree for paper.
Atea. Tree whose bark was used to make cloth.
Hiapo. Young branch of the Banyan, whose bark is used to make cloth, also the cloth made from this bark.
Ike. Tapa beater.
Kokuu. Mallet of wood of this tree (Lily of India).
Kotapa. To even the edges of cloth.
Mapu. Native cloth.
Mata. The right side of pretty cloth.
Nie i te tapa. To equalize the edges of cloth. To cut off the unevenness.
Pahito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahito hitohito. Coarsely beaten tapa.
Pahoa. To beat bark for cloth.
Papo i te tapa. To remake used tapa as new.
Pataka: To peel wood, knocking underneath with a stone or other object.
Peka i te tapa. To beat cloth in cross construction.
Taemani. Said of lustrous, luminous cloth.
Tahotahoki. To beat cloth slowly so that it will be closed.
Tapa kokokoko. Native cloth.
Tapa kookoo. Cloth.
Tapa pia. Clear cloth.
Tapa pokuu. Cloth made from breadfruit bark.
Tihoo. To stretch (a cloth) in beating it, to make it larger and finer.
Tipa. To beat a cloth for the first time.
Titaa. Kind of beater of iron wood.
Titapa. To even the borders of cloth.
Tivaka. To put a length (leaf) in cloth.
Tuaka. Cloth coarsely beaten.
Tapa Tuakahikahi. Clear, thin cloth.
Tumekaka. Cloth poorly beaten.
Tutua. Wood on which tapa is beaten.
Tututini. To rebeat a cloth many times to renovate it.
Ute. A species of tree (*Morus papyrifera*). Bark for tapa. Tapa.
E tapa vakavaka. Strong cloth serving for wrapping.
Uuka. To make cloth into a bundle.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the inter-tribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group.

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

171
304
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301
293
237

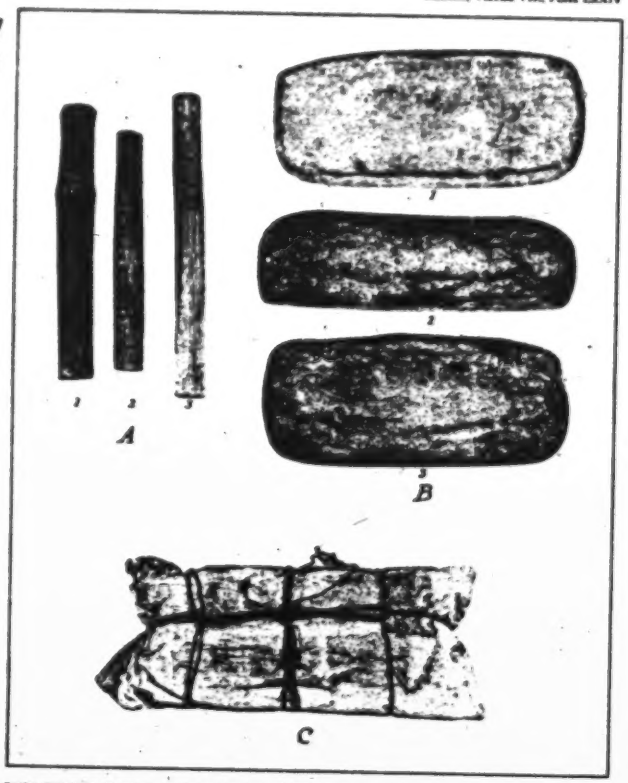
COMPARATIVE TABLE MATERIAL CULTURE—Continued

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	Mangaia	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Tattooing	Men completely tattooed; women on legs, arms and lips	Men tattooed on face and thighs, body tattoo rare, women on lips and chin	Men sometimes completely tattooed except face	Men tattooed on body and limbs but not on face; women on lower leg and arms, also a girdle	Men tattooed going to knee; women on arms and legs	Like Samoa
Tapa making	Stone, hollow wooden and solid wooden anvils; square and round beaters, grooves but no water marks	Obsolete, no data on manufacture	Hollow wooden anvil, square and round beater, beaters with water marks or grooves	Hollow wooden anvil; square beater with water marks on one end two sides, other sides grooved	Smooth log, not hollowed, square beater, grooved on three sides, no water marks	Like Samoa
Tapa decoration	Dyed yellow		Painted, stamped with bamboo stamps or flowers (rare)	Free hand painting, stamped with flowers or leaves	Free hand painting and painting over carved block	Free hand painting and painting over carved block
Feather work	Feathers pasted on base; no feather cloaks	Feathers caught into woven fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; feather cloaks important	Feathers caught into netted fabric; no feather cloaks	Woven in edges of fine mats	No data
Necklaces of many strands of braided hair	Important	Not used	Important, part of chief's insignia	Turban of many strands of braided hair, no necklace	Not used	Not used
Fans	Highly decorated, carried by chiefs	No data	Highly decorated fans sometimes used by chiefs	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial	Elaborate but not ceremonial
Fly flap	Not used	Not used	Elaborately decorated feather flaps part of chief's insignia	Elaborately carved, ceremonial (?)	Carried by member chiefs	Common, ceremonial (?)

7: Luzon E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

287
413



TOOLS FOR TAPA MAKING: *A*, TAPA BEATERS—(1) SQUARE WITH HANDLE, (2) SQUARE WITHOUT HANDLE, (3) GROOVED; *B*, STONE TAPA ANVIL—(1) TOP VIEW, (2) SIDE VIEW, (3) BOTTOM VIEW; *C*, BUNDLE OF FINISHED TAPA.

[end plate 35]